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AUTHOR Hendricks, Glen L.
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ABSTRACT

As the size and diversity of the Hispano-American population of New York City has increased, a new tripartite pluralistic cultural situation based upon categories both physical and cultural has been emerging. A politicization of ethnicity is being played cut in New York City schools. While Puerto Ricans are legal citizens of the United States, free to enter and leave New York City at will, the legal status of the "others" is precarious; many have illegally by-passed U.S. immigration laws. Their presence has important consequences not only for them but also for the nature of the interaction between the entire "other Hispano" segment and the American society. Even when political units acknowledge that Puerto Ricans are but one segment of the Hispano group, they are of necessity forced to recognize the Puerto Ricans as the political spokesmen for the larger Hispano segment. The Hispano often fails to make a permanent commitment to immigrate to the United States, thus further modifying the patterns of assimilation and acculturation taking place. [Due to the quality of the print of the original document, some parts, including tables, will not be clearly legible when reproduced.] (Author/JM)

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LA RAZA EN NUEVA YORK:

SOCIAL PLURALISM AND SCHOOLS

A paper for presentation
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Glenn L. Hendricks

University of Minnesota

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ABSTRACT

A description of the growing Spanish speaking population in New York, with special emphasis on the non-Puerto Rican segment. Using the theoretical constructs of pluralism and ethnicity drawn from social anthropology the paper suggests how ethnic identification is developed through competition for available political resources, in this case the development of ethnically oriented schools.

La Raza en Nueva York:
Social Pluralism and Schools

As a major and visible social institution of our society, schools cannot help but reflect in their operation, organization, and structure the stresses and strains of the dynamic society of which they are a part. It is my thesis that we are witnessing a significant shift in ethnic relationships in New York City, part of a larger national shift, so that a tripartite pluralistic cultural situation based upon categories both physical (racial) and cultural is emerging. This pluralism is leading to the incipient formation of structural features with the hallmarks of a plural society heretofore not recognized as part of the modern urban American experience. The stresses and strains which are accompaniments to the emergence of any new social ordering are dramatically expressed within the schools.

A great deal of ink has been spilled over the concept of cultural and social pluralism and within the limitations of this paper it is not possible to reconstruct the theoretical basis of that argumentation. What the theoreticians of the plural society model argue is that institutional differences serve to distinguish differing cultures and social units. One of the difficulties of this argumentation is the inability to define operationally the level at which specific institutional differences become such markers. Despres (1967) makes a dichotomy between minimal (e.g. kinship) and maximal (e.g. market structures) institutions as ideal types and argues that to the degree maximal structures serve culture specific groups the society may be labeled plural.

> "A society has many levels of institutional structuring and some are more interdependent than others...The most inclusive structures of a society are those that have to do with its political or governmental institutions.
> It is suggested the definition of the plural society must take into account two related sets of facts: (1) the extent to which the specific groups are culturally differentiated in terms of specific institutional activities and (2) the level at which institutional activities serve to maintain cultural differentiation as the basis for sociocultural integration.(21-22)"

Pluralism has been examined most often within multi-ethnic colonial or post-colonial situations. Implicit in these discussions has been the political dimension and consequent emergence of social pluralism as ethnic groups vie for access to sources of power. Vincent rightfully points out that "cultural pluralism then becomes politically relevant when differential access to positions of differing advantage is institutionalized in ethnic terms." (1970:2)

What I should like to do in the remainder of this paper is to describe with a somewhat broad brush the outlines of a growing ethnically bound population of Hispano-Americans[1] in New York and indicate the way in which this growing "politicization of ethnicity" and even "pluralization" is being played out in the New York schools.

New York City, as the primary port of entry for millions of immigrants into the United States, historically has been a polygot of diverse ethnic and cultural groups exhibiting various stages of assimilation into that culture complex labeled "American." In the past several decades we have come to recognize, however, that the popularized conception of the dominant pattern of American assimilation, the so-called melting pot theory, has proved to be an inadequate framework in which to describe what has actually taken place. Persistence of ethnic identity for large segments of almost every immigrant section for generations after it was assumed to have been lost (Glazer and Moynihan) indicates the inadequacy of the melting pot formulation. Political activities based upon "ethnic arithmetic" continue to exist and reward the patient political practitioner. However persistent this ethnic consciousness may be, it would be both unfair and inaccurate not to recognize the American experience for having woven the fabric of a viable society from very diverse ethnic strands.

But ~~immigrant populations of the~~ past century, ~~who~~ are usually included ~~among~~ those having successfully integrated, shared two important attributes: (1) they were phenotypically white skinned and (2) they came as foreigners in a sense that as citizens of another socio-political unit they voluntarily chose to leave their native country in order to assume residence in the United States. Citizenship rights were not necessarily automatically conferred upon arrival here and, until they were given, they were seldom in a position to make overt demands upon individuals and institutions holding political power and could only indirectly affect public policy.

The passage of the first immigration laws in 1916 restricting numbers and national origins of potential immigrants was of tremendous importance in changing the nature of the incoming stream of immigrants. The elimination of the national quota portions of the law in 1968 and the placement of a ceiling for the first time on immigrants from other countries of North and South America will also dramatically change the immigrant stream, but the impact of this change is just beginning to emerge and is not yet adequately documented. However, during the last half century a new pattern of internal migration developed as the agrarian economy of the United States changed and large numbers of persons were forced to leave the land and seek urban employment. The shifting economy of the South had special implications for New York as it became one of the target areas for millions of Blacks who migrated northward. A later, but parallel internal migration, was that of the Spanish speaking Puerto Rican. As his island home began to feel the effect of a burgeoning population growth he found economic relief by seeking employment in New York. The important point we wish to consider here is that in both the Black and Puerto Rican cases they arrived as members of socially sub-ordinate groups, subject to the vicissitudes of

American racism, unskilled and often functionally illiterate, speaking a completely foreign language or a non-standard form of English and bearers of a cultural pattern that was to varying degrees contrastive to the mainstream dominant culture. But (and an important but) they shared two latent powers: American citizenship and significantly large numbers.

In the last decade a third large immigrant group has arrived, but because of their identification by the wider society as being Puertc Rican, the magnitude of this immigration has been almost unnoticed. This is the mix of upwards of 600,000 Spanish speakers from the Caribbean islands of Cuba and the Dominican Republic and a variety of South American countries. The size of this group is difficult to ascertain because it has arrived since the 1960 decennial census.[2] The growth of this "other than Puerto Rican Hispanos" segment is the result of both internal events in the countries of origin as well as United States relationships to those events. Since the takeover of Cuba by the Castro government daily flights from Havana to Miami have been airlifting over 3,000 to 4,000 Cubans monthly to mainland United States. Large numbers have settled in New York and continue to do so in spite of massive government attempts to settle them out of the New York and Miami areas. The Dominican diaspora into New York began shortly before the death of Trujillo in 1961 and was reinforced by the political instability that has occurred in the decade since, including the intervention and landing of U. S. Forces in the Dominican Republic for the third time in the twentieth century. Estimates of the total Hispano population in New York generally place it at slightly under two million, only half of whom are of Puerto Rican origin. (New York State Division of Human Rights) This is in contrast to the recently released 1970 preliminary census estimate of 1.7 million Blacks living in the City. (New York Times, February 11, 1970)

At minimum it can be said that Black and Hispano populations are of approximately the same size. Together they represent 3.5 million persons or 40 to 45 percent of the City's population.

A necessary legal distinction must be made between the Puerto Rican and the "other Hispano" in that Puerto Ricans are legal citizens of the United States and have the same legal right to enter and exit New York as the participants in this conference have to travel here to Miami. The "others" have passed through the screen of U. S. immigration law (or illegally by-passed it) and by and large still retain citizenship in their native countries. This fact not only disenfranchises most of them from participation in U. S. political events but it also results in a population of large but unknown numbers who are in a precarious illegal situation similar to the large number of "wetbacks" in the Southwest. Their presence has important consequences not only for them but also for the nature of the interaction between the entire "other Hispano" segment and the American society. While Cubans as political immigres are not in quite the same position, they have as yet failed to obtain U. S. citizenship in large numbers. The result of this large scale disenfranchisement is that even when political units acknowledge that Puerto Ricans are but one segment of the total Hispano group they are of necessity forced to recognize the Puerto Ricans as the political spokesmen for the larger Hispano segment.[3]

Not unlike the members of most immigrant groups, the Hispano immigrant most often considers his new residence only temporary and that he will one day return to his native country. However, this assumption is a far more realistic one for the Hispano than for previous immigrants who arrived earlier and from more distance countries. Modern forms of transportation plus the proximity of San Juan, Santo Domingo, or even Caracas to New York makes ingress and egress

relatively simple. Ties to kinsmen and friends in the countries of origin need not be severed or even attenuated. (Here we must except the Cuban who at this time cannot return. However, very often his kinsmen have also arrived in the U. S.) As I have shown elsewhere, for many Dominicans migration to New York is but one stage in the individual's life cycle (Hendricks, 1970) and a portion of their active social field remains geographically located in the Dominican Republic. This failure to make a permanent commitment to immigrate to the United States has significant consequences to the patterns of assimilation and acculturation that take place. The word commitment is used purposefully since it implies intention rather than actual behavioral patterns.

Most of the Hispano settlers in New York come from areas of Latin America where there has been a massive infusion of Negro phenotypic characteristics into the population's genetic pool. A smaller segment is generated out of areas where the mixture includes Indian characteristics, both physical and cultural. The majority of the native population pools of the three major segments of Hispanos (Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Dominican) in New York are consequently classified as mullato. While racial consciousness and discrimination is practiced in these societies, it is of a far different order than that practiced in the United States, where little distinction is made between brown and black. One of the first problems the immigrant faces upon arrival is the encounter with this new social classification as a person of "color." The unsolicited inclusion in a common category of Black and Puerto Rican[4] is neither acceptable to Blacks nor to the Hispanos. A result of this has been a defensive reaction of not only retaining Hispanic characteristics, especially language, but accentuating them in order to avoid classification as a Negro. Since both groups are often competing for available economic and political resources (e.g. poverty program

grants, positions as minority representatives on committees and commissions) the cleavage and the tensions between these two groups is great.[5] By the same token, to be a Puerto Rican is said to carry with it a more socially subordinate stigma than to be "South American" and therefore, "other Hispanos" are often careful to point out they are not Puerto Rican but Cuban or Dominican or whatever.

A further factor which must be considered is that of the ethnocentrism that is a prominent part of the Hispanic culture. The Hispano is quite conscious of the concept la raza, literally the race but a complex of ethnocentric values of the inherent superiority of Hispano lifeways. But superimposed on top of this is mi patria (my country), an attachment that is expressed in far more emotional terms than is found in U. S. culture. The roots and meanings of this nationalistic identity are not important here, but rather that at this point in time in the acculturation process into U. S. society strong ties are still retained to the country of origin. Thus a politicized Puerto Rican is often more concerned about the events of Statehood for Puerto Rico movement than of his position in New York. This is even more true of political immigres from Cuba and the Dominican Republic. Any political activity found among Dominicans in New York is bound up with events in Santo Domingo and not New York. During the elections of 1970 the key political speeches of President Balaguer were broadcast in New York simultaneously with their transmission in the Republic. Colombians formed long lines before their Consulate in order to vote in their presidential elections in 1970.[6] In the case of Puerto Ricans this is slowly changing as second and third generations are born on the mainland and they come to identify themselves with Puerto Rican problems here. Attempts to coalesce as even a national group are often negated by charges and counter charges of individuals gaining political advantage in the home country. The last election

of a New York Puerto Rican Day Parade President was punctuated by charges that the election was being used to promote the individual's political position in the San Juan government. (New York Times,)

In spite of the divisive social and political factors operating to prevent its coalescence as a formal corporate group, the sheer numbers of Spanish speakers, sharing a grossly similar cultural complex, has led to the development of a very visible if not viable Hispanic sub-culture in New York City. Two daily newspapers in the Spanish language are published in New York as well as two television stations and at least a half dozen radio stations are broadcasting primarily to a Spanish speaking audience. Dozens of Spanish language movie theaters are to be found in the areas of Hispano settlement. Innumerable stores, especially those selling food, either cater exclusively to this population or . have whole sections devoted to foodstuffs preferred by Caribbean- and Latin-Americans: plantains, yucca, rice, beans, and condiments. (A slang term for Puerto Ricans among this population is that of Goya, actually a trade name for a popular brand of processed foodstuffs originally aimed at the Puerto Rican market.) At least three banking institutions identified as Puerto Rican have opened numerous branches in New York and aggressively pursue business of the Spanish speaking population. A credit card system catering to the Hispano consumer has been launched by one of them.

Cohen's analysis of the Hausa living in Yoruba towns of Nigeria provides one theoretical framework in which to consider the growing Hispano culture segment in New York. He notes that the Hausa adjusted to the new social situation not by rapidly losing their cultural distinctiveness but by

> "adjust(ing) to the new realities by reorganizing its own traditional customs, or by developing new customs under traditional symbols,

> often using traditional norms and ideologies to enhance its distinctiveness within the contemporary situation" (1969:1).

This process he labels as retribalization as opposed to the process of detribalization.

Obviously value systems do undergo significant changes upon the individual's arrival in New York. Life in the major metropolitan area of the United States is not that of San Juan, a rural Dominican village, nor of an Ecuadorian provincial town. But the process of this culture shift often has more elements of what Spicer (1060) has contrasted as integrative rather than assimilative i. e. new culture traits are taken on and integrated in such a way they conform to the meaningful and functional relations within the individual's ongoing culture system, rather than acceptance of meanings of the new system. The new life in New York makes certain functional demands upon the individual. He obviously must learn to use the subways and conform to the rigidity of time requirements of factory employment. Again using Spicer's typology these elements are more likely to be isolative or compartmentalized than assimilative. El Boss is part of the American's way of life and at the end of the day one retreats to family and friends where amigoisimo is the basis of social relationships.

The newly arriving Hispano immigrant at this point in time enters an ongoing social system that is significantly different from that of the dominant culture but is so encompassing that the pressures to assimilate to the dominant culture have been effectively mitigated. A virtually complete sub-society of a New York variant of Hispano culture has been erected. The immigrant does change but this change is most often best characterized as retribalization. Presently this process is most apparent in sub-sets of the total segment (e.g. Puerto

Ricans or Dominicans) but it still can be documented for the total Hispano group.

Among the group I am most familiar with, Dominicans, movement to New York carries with it possibilities for great upward economic and social mobility. This is especially so for the campesino who in his own country has little opportunity to gain employment even by moving to urban areas of the Republic. Settlement in New York provides opportunities not only for a job but the ability to acquire quantities of capital most middle class Dominicans are hard pressed to accumulate. However, his economic success in North American terms is relatively unimpressive. He is in New York usually classified as poverty stricken and often the dweller of slums. But if he views himself in terms of his former position in his native society he has indeed achieved much. Thus the frame of reference by which to measure his "success" must come in relationship to other Dominicans either in the Republic or among his fellow countrymen in New York. Hence the New York dweller finds sources for reinforcement of his retention of Hispanic cultural attributes by the very nature of the rewards system. Attendance at an English language public school represents higher social status in Dominican terms for at least two reasons. First, mere attendance of school, especially at the secondary level, is a privilege for a relative few in his own country. Secondly, large numbers of the social and economic leading classes have for generations sent their children to schools in the United States. Bilingualism is not seen as an opportunity to "become an American" but rather a functional skill which allows greater economic and social maneuverability as either a Dominican or a Hispano. But attendance at a typical New York public school is not accepted without some reservations. For many parents and even children, the school is seen as an instrument of "Yankee imperialism", robbing the Hispano child of some of the basic values of his own culture.

A genuinely successful product of the New York experience is seen as the individual who gains the economic, social, and political power to return to the island home with enhanced status. Among the politically oriented Dominicans in New York a significant lesson is to be found in the experience of the current President of the Republic, Joachim Balaguer, who is alleged to have rebuilt his political power base on 57th Street in a Horn and Hardart cafeteria while in political exile following the assassination of Trujillo. Among the Dominican campesinos with whom I worked in New York, the true success story was the individual who returned home after a purgatorial sojourn to New York with sufficient capital accumulation to live a comfortable existence. This New York experience allows him to gain access to many material items: automobiles, refrigerators, television sets, and medical care. But they are not new material items in his own culture; more often they were items known, but because of his socio-economic status seldom available to him. Traditional values in marriage patterns, kin relations, religious beliefs undergo only slight transition in the movement to New York. Marriages are contracted exclusively with other Hispanos, usually their own countrymen and often among persons from their own village. This is true even for young persons who have been reared primarily in New York.

The majority of the total immigrant population of Hispanos are recruited from either the urban lower class or from the rural peasantry. However, significant numbers are drawn from the middle and even the upper class of some countries. Upon arrival in New York few, if only because of the language barriers, possess employable skills and thus all tend to be thrown into the same labor pool, working, for example, as factory operatives (machine operators in the garment industry) or in service occupations (restaurant workers, especially dish washers). The mastery of English and hence achieving occupational mobility is usually

a function of previous education which in turn reflects to some degree the socio-economic segment of the society from which he is recruited. Within a short period of time the social stratification system of the home country begins re-emerging. By the same token there is a stratification system emerging between national groupings. Cuban immigrants, large portions of whom were drawn from the entrepreneurial class of their home society, seem to have re-emerged as economically the most successful. An often quoted joke among Hispanos is that a Cuban arrives in a Spanish speaking establishment to begin work as the floor sweeper and by the end of the year he has become the manager. The relative obscurity of Cubans in visible positions of leadership among the Hispano segment is both a function of their recent arrival as well as their lack of citizenship and hence political enfranchisement. However, there is every reason to believe that future leadership will emerge from among Cuban-Americans. Cross cutting relationships have developed as marital unions are formed between members of these national groupings. Based upon my observations of Dominicans as well as a survey of marriage announcements made in the Spanish press, the tendency is for these unions to be formed along class lines even when national lines are crossed for mate selection. It is possible a lower class Dominican may find a marital partner from among a higher placed Honduran but seldom would the mobility take place through mate selection from members of his own society. Far most common is the linking of middle class individuals from different countries.

But tensions do exist between the national segments which must be recognized in any description of the Hispanos of New York. Even though Spanish is the common language, each national grouping has variants of it, if only in pronunciation or in specific vocabulary terms. These variations are most pronounced in the spoken language rather than in the written form. Oral communications media,

the radio and television stations, face the difficulty of carefully balancing the nationalities of their announcers due to criticism over what is "correct" Spanish. The organizers of a block association party in a Hispano neighborhood with which I was familiar had to carefully balance the choice of musical groups in order to avoid offending either the Puerto Rican or Dominican participants. In a similar fashion several years ago the Hispano banking institutions in New York were accused in the Spanish press of undergoing a process of "Cubanization." This intra-group competition is a significant factor in demands upon the schools. As more Spanish speaking individuals are recruited to teaching positions within the school systems (both public and private) the middle-class, educated Cuban, often a former teacher in Cuba, most often fulfills the requisite educational requirements. This has led to resentments among Puerto Ricans who claim their children were not being taught "their own" Spanish.

Previous periods of large scale single ethnic group immigration by the Germans, Italians, and Eastern European Jews have led to attempts to alleviate their problems and accommodate to their needs by sensitive socially conscious individuals and groups both public and private. But underlying these activities was the assumption that the newcomers would eventually assimilate to the language and values of the dominant American society. What is unique about the current Hispano experience is that portions of the social and legal systems which heretofore operated to impose the dominant culture's norms are now utilized to reinforce and retain the Hispano's separate cultural identity. Built on legal decisions at all judicial levels, administrative decisions arrived at independently as well as through the force of these decisions and supported by a norm system that at minimum tentatively pays lip service to the "right of individuals to maintain their own culture," an intra-structural pattern

has begun to evolve which not only permits but supports the development of cultural and social pluralism. Literacy in English is no longer a requirement for voting. While the direct significance of this to the individual may be academic, the fact that driver's license examinations are now administered in Spanish is a social reality that intimately touches thousands of Hispanos. In New York State consumer credit contracts must be written in Spanish as well as in English and courts are required to furnish bilingual interpreters in Spanish and English for those cases requiring it. Most widely used City forms such as those applicable to rent control are written bilingually. Governmental offices which serve the general public of necessity are staffed by bilingual individuals when feasible. Subway warning signs are now routinely posted in both Spanish and English. Recognition of both the political power as well as the legal and moral right for representation is demonstrated by the now almost standard practice of seeking out Black and Hispano representatives on any commission, delegation, or committee that seeks an image of widespread representation. The first U. S. congressman identified with the Puerto Rican segment of New York City's population has only just been elected and undoubtedly there will be more following. This recognition has not evolved without some degree of militancy on the part of the Hispanos themselves as they first sought recognition and then equality. The activities of the Young Lords, an ethnically oriented separatist movement of mainland born and reared young Puerto Ricans, represent at least one direction that this new Hispano self-sonsciousness might take.

The degree to which the Hispano now constitutes a recognized segment is seen in the growing practice of advertising bilingually. Thus in a great many places in New York Coca Cola's "Es la cosa real" is seen as frequently as "It's

the real thing." A growing advertising and public relations industry caters exclusively to Hispanos. The newly created New York City Betting Commission aimed a specific advertising program at the Spanish speakers (another separate program was aimed at the Blacks).

Settlement patterns of this group are dominated by the shortage of all classes of housing in New York, but which is especially severe among low priced rental units. The propensity of Hispanos to live in concentrated groups is as much a product of their desire to live near familiar persons as it is the great competition to secure any kind of housing at prices they can afford. The concentration of many individuals in a single living unit is an outgrowth of their own cultural behavioral patterns of living in relatively limited space, but is also an efficient way of mobilizing sufficient economic resources to pay the relatively high rents demanded for even minimal accommodations.

The most widely known residential area for the Hispano population is el Barrio, the eastern part of Harlem located on the upper East Side of Manhattan. However, this area is almost exclusively Puerto Rican and contains only a small segment of the total population. In reality Hispanos can be found throughout the city, the heaviest concentration in Manhattan, and the Bronx, but increasingly in Brooklyn. Table I indicates school population characteristics and provides as reliable an index to relative settlement patterns as any currently available. In addition to the 68,500 Hispano children in the Borough of Manhattan public schools, almost 14,000 more attend Catholic parochial schools in the Manhattan diocese. This writer however would argue that use of school statistics for total population projections is still erroneous since the "other Hispanos" have just started to establish households and marital unions in New York. Because of their recency their children have yet to reach the schools in large

numbers. In addition many do not enter the immigrant stream until after they are of school age. A further caveat is that the large number of illegal residents seldom are accompanied by school age children. However, what the table does indicate is that with the exception of Staten Island, significant numbers of Hispanos reside in all boroughs of the City.

I should like to turn now to a brief discussion of the impact all of this has had upon the schools of New York City. As Table I indicates, at least 25% of the public school population of the City is of Hispano origin, coming from family units that retain varying degrees of that unique cultural identity. Were these 25% distributed throughout the system their impact would undoubtedly be of a different order. In both Manhattan and the Bronx they constitute 40% of the population, and were these figures broken down by district and school, one would find individual schools with 80 to 90% Hispano registrants.

Among the catalogue of problems this large of a population brings to the schools is the obvious one of language. A special language census in 1969 revealed that 95,482 Hispano children attending New York public schools faced language difficulties ranging from Moderate (i.e. they speak English hesitantly) to Severe (they speak little or no English). See Table II.

A wide variety of experimental programs has been proposed and in some cases implemented in attempts to cope with this very real language problem. In the past two years there has been the florescence of a number of pilot experimental programs due to the infusion of federal aid funds under the Bilingual Education Act of 1968.[6] The most radical of these are at least two schools in the Bronx in which Spanish is the language in which all major subject matter is taught and English introduced as a foreign language. Other variations of this exist in many schools depending upon the number and kind of Spanish speaking

teachers who can be recruited. While I know of only proposals for separate secondary schools catering to the Spanish speaker in this fashion, de facto segregation in certain areas is leading to high schools which are largely Hispano. George Washington and Benjamin Franklin High Schools in upper Manhattan have increasingly large numbers of Spanish speaking students. The opening of Maria Hostos Community College, as part of the City's two year college program, is an overt attempt to create an institution of higher education specifically aimed at this population.

A discussion of the merits of such programs is not our purpose here; rather it is to note the consequences such programs, if fully implemented, might have. Burnett raises the issue of the significance of schools as instruments of developing pluralism.

> "I question whether the objectives of cultural pluralism can be pursued in the presence of highly centralized political and economic control of schools. The recent posture of teachers' unions has added to my doubts." (1970:11)

However, in New York City part of the current battle over decentralization cover just such issues. The degree that each district achieves autonomy, especially in the recruitment of its teachers, will affect the implementation of Spanish language programs. If part of our definition of ethnic pluralism, especially in a sociological sense, is the construction of "maximal" institutions that serve to socialize individuals into separate language (hence ethnic) segments it would seem obvious such Spanish language schools are inherently part of this social movement towards pluralism. The selection of the first Puerto Rican District Superintendent, by a knowledgeable and militant board, who is dedicated to the development of these truly bilingual schools is evidence of how far this movement has progressed. One can only speculate how far such a development

might proceed before the intercession of other countervaling forces. However, both the possibility and the direction already taken is clearly demonstrable.

Vincent's argument that ethnicity becomes politically salient when it involves a competition for access to available strategic resources is pertinent here. If separate schooling facilities for the Hispano population indeed become an alternative to which a significant number have access, it is possible to foresee further coalescence of this ethnic segment and the accentuation of ethnic divisions. This is particularly true in the division between Blacks and Hispanos as they press for schools emphasizing their particular cultural points of view.

A usual rebuttal of the kind of argument presented in this paper is that other ethnic sections in New York, notably the Jews, have passed through the school system and used it as a route towards acculturation. Greer in a recent historical examination of the role of the schools in New York in the process of assimilation, raises serious question that this centrality ever existed. Rather he posits that

> "Public education was the rubber stamp of economic improvement, rarely has it been the bootstrap...: the key factor is more probably the indigenous grounding of the unit within the ethnic boundary--the establishment of an ethnic middle class before scaling the walls of the dominant society. (1969:)

I would argue that historical analogy cannot be used here because neither the political situation nor the dominant society's at least token acceptance of cultural pluralism was present previously. The legal position as citizens of a large segment of the Hispano population, their great numbers, American racial attitudes, and the historically demonstrated penchant for the retention by Hispanos of major cultural trait complexes in spite of pressures towards acculturation all are salient conditions which combine to aid the emergence of new

forms of social organization and structures in New York. Certainly the direction of this pluralistic development is not irreversible and a considerable number of persons of Hispano heritage do not participant at all but opt completely for acculturation into the dominant society. Others may select situationally when to be American and when to be Hispano. The situation presents the anthropologist, regardless of whether his interests are primarily cultural or primarily social, with an arena of study in which dynamic processes of culture and social change are in operation.

Table I[8]

Ethnic Enrollment in all New York City Schools, 1969-70

Borough and level	Number of Pupils							Per Cent of Total Register					
	Puerto Rican	Other Sp. Sur. Amer.	Negro	Amer. Indian	Oriental	Others	Total	Puerto Rican	Other Sp. Sur. Amer.	Negro	Amer. Indian	Oriental	Others
MANHATTAN	57,974	10,675	67,934	50	7,592	28,798	173,023	33.5	6.2	39.3	0.0	4.4	16.6
BROOKLYN	89,813	6,467	156,741	148	3,089	157,242	413,500	21.7	1.6	37.9	0.0	0.7	38.0
BRONX	89,706	5,265	78,073	36	1,483	56,897	231,460	38.8	2.3	33.7	0.0	0.6	24.6
QUEENS	8,304	10,679	66,459	33	3,707	160,390	249,592	3.3	4.3	26.6	0.0	1.5	64.3
RICHMOND	1,110	392	4,221	2	204	41,062	47,862	2.3	0.8	8.8	0.0	0.5	87.6
Special Schools	2,148	96	3,520	--	19	1,945	7,728	27.8	1.3	45.5	--	0.2	25.2
CITY-WIDE	249,055	33,574	376,948	289	16,094	447,205	1,123,165	22.2	3.0	33.6	0.0	1.4	39.8

Source: Board of Education of City of New York, Annual Census of School Population, October 31, 1969.

Table II

Elementary Pupils with Language Difficulties

Borough	Total Puerto Ricans Registered	With Language Difficulties	% of Puerto Ricans Registered	Total Other Spanish Surnames	With Language Difficulties	% of Other Spanish Surnames Registered
MANHATTAN	32,233	15,168	47.0	6,799	4,504	62.2
BRONX	57,304	24,573	42.9	3,391	1,780	52.5
BROOKLYN	55,914	23,648	42.3	3,872	1,987	51.3
QUEENS	3,945	1,103	28.0	6,494	3,476	53.5
RICHMOND	662	113	17.0	250	40	16.0
Total	152,181	64,605	42.9	20,898	11,787	56.4

Source: Board of Education of City of New York. Survey of Pupils who have difficulties with the English language. Publication 334, September, 1970.

Footnotes

[1]The term Hispano is used here to mean all persons originating from countries which are the bearers of a culture complex that originated in Spain and make use of the Spanish languages. This includes Puerto Ricans, Cubans, South Americans, as well as persons from Spain. There is no term in Spanish or English to cover just those persons who originate in Hispanic countries other than Puerto Rico. Therefore, it is necessary to use the same awkward phrase beginning with the descriptor "other." Official records usually now break the categories down into "Puerto Ricans" and "other Spanish surnames." Until a few years ago this latter group was lumped into the "Other" category meaning all persons who were not Negro, Oriental, nor Puerto Rican, thus further concealing this growing non Puerto Rican Hispano segment.
This hyphenated identification as a Hispano living in the United States lacks a generally agreed upon generic term. Mexican-Americans use the term Chicano to distinguish a particular sub-set of this group. What is needed is a term covering the entire set of Hispanos. Although used in a derogatory sense, the term pocho (literally, faded or bleached) to denote Americanized Mexicans approaches the term that will undoubtedly some day be coined.

[2]At this time even preliminary reports of New York's 1970 count of the Spanish speaking population have not been released. The fact that the count of Blacks was released less than three months after the count was made is perhaps indicative of the relative political clout carried by the Blacks vis-a-vis the Hispano population.

[3]Before a New York television audience this writer once questioned Mayor Lindsay as to what recognition the City of New York government had for the large number of "other than Puerto Rican" Spanish speaking people present in the City. His answer was to reassure me he was aware, but after this one sentence he went on to extol at length the virtues of Puerto Ricans.

[4]So frequent is the term Black and Puerto Rican (actually meaning Hispano) used together as another synonym for "the poor" that its pronunciation as a single unbroken morphemic unit, "Blackandpuertorican," dramatically illustrates this linkage of the two groups by the wider society, a linkage which both groups bridle under.

[5]I have been witness to public arguments between Black and Puerto Rican representatives who base the argumentation for acceptance of their particular point of view on the fact that they as a group are more discriminated against than is the other.

[6]According to a New York Times account of the affair the more than 5,000 persons who voted in New York "turned the area on 57th Street in front of the Columbian Center into a fiesta." One participant is quoted, "For us Colombia is all that is important in our hearts. Americans can give us jobs, but it cannot give us a heart." (New York Times, April 20, 1970)

[7]It might be noted here that the Bilingual Aid Act grew out of problems existing in the Southwest among Mexican-Americans and was eventually funded only because President Johnson made special efforts to see that it was pushed through Congress. Implicit in the discussion of this paper is the significance of recent decisions on the national level to further aid the Spanish speaking portion of the American population as well as court rulings requiring equality of treatment for Spanish speaking citizens.

[8]The inherent problems in making such a census leave the reliability of these figures open to question. Teachers were left to make these determinations without asking the pupils. The Central Office of Educational Program Research and Statistics specifically instructed that each school was to make its own interpretation of these categories without consulting their office. Any number of Dominicans, for example, do not carry Spanish "sounding" surnames. Lack of information makes it difficult for a non-Spanish speaking teacher to determine the place of origin of a child and thus "everyone who speaks Spanish is Puerto Rican." This is not a problem unique to New York City. In Minneapolis the ethnic census is referred to as the "sight count" and is literally based upon the observatory powers of the teacher.

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